DERBY & JACKSON.

THE LIFE AND SERVICES OF JAMES BUCHANAN, late Minister to England, and formerly Minister to Russia, Senator and Representative in Congress, and Secretary of State; including the most important of his State papers. By R. G. Horton. With an accurate portrait on steel. New York: Derby & Jackson, No. 119 Nassau street. Cincinnati: H. W. Derby & Co. 1856

The grandest monuments of a nations's glory are the patriotic services of her public men. In the records of individual eminence our Republic has been peculiarly fortunate. No State or people ever in the same brief lapse of time has given to history so many illustrious names. It is but eighty years since we were declared free and independent and for every year we can boast a role of statesmen, diplomatists, philos-ophers, and so'diers, unparalleled for number and diversity of claim to high distinction, far men of the Revolution. The names of some, indeed, have become the watchwords of pro gress, and as time rolls on will ascend higher and higher upon the lists of fame.

But, while nations bow in reverence before the works of our patriot sires, the men who have nobly perpetuated what these achieved, are almost equally entitled to their veneration. The hour of battle is not always the severest test of human fidelity. The confused struggles of ambition and faction that follow the establishment of a great State, frequently involve even more pressing trials than the moments of organization, even though it be sur rounded with the perils of a doubtful war Without claiming, perhaps, such sweeping credit as this for the men who have maintained the Union and the Constitution our fathers founded, we will, at least, assert for them the credit that a happy people award to the guar-dians who have watched over her new-born liberties, and protected them in their weak infancy from the machinations of foreign and domestic foes. In the Pantheon of America heroes, they merit a place "full high advanced" between the urns and busts of the Fathers of the Republic. Among these, no man deserves a more conspicuous niche or a more lustrous wreath than James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania, the Democratic nominee for the Presidency of the United States, and the distinguished subject of the memoir before us!

history with Mr. Horton's own words: "James Buchanan was born at a place called Stony Batter, in Franklin county, Pennsylvania, at the foot of the Eastern ridge of the Alleghanies, on the 23d day of April, 1791 Franklin county borders on the State of Mary land, and the greater part of it consists of broad limestone valley, watered with copious an answer. and unfailing mountain springs, and having a soil of unsurpassed fertility. The immense range of mountains known as the Alleghanies. which commences in the northern part of Geor- ble charges against me. gia and Alabama, and runs generally in uniform Mountain, a continuation of the Blue Ridge of Virginia, forms its boundary on the east, and tain are estimated at fifteen hundreed feet

Without further preface we will open the

above the valley.
"The spot where Mr. Bachanan first saw the light of day is situated in a wild and romantic gorge of this mountain. The towering summits stream of water, clear as the crystal fountain from which it flows, meanders through what was once a cleared field, not far from his hum- I did express opinions in relation to the causes anan cabin are still to be seen, although little from the village of Mercersburg. It is a lovely spot, and the scenery has all those elements of sailable throughout this long public service, have developed a hardy constitution, inspired them with honest ambition, and taught them voluntarily offered me a seat in his Cabinet. early in life those invaluable lessons of self-denial

a native of the County of Donegal in the north of Ireland, who emigrated to the United States in the year 1783. He was a poor man when little better than moral treason to paralyze the he acquired before his death a handsome com petency. Five years after his arrival, he married Elizabeth Speer, the daughter of a respectable farmer of Adams County, Pennsylvania. At not favorable to its vigorous prosecution. that time the broad and beautiful valleys of Franklin County were comparatively a wilderness, but Mr. Buchanau sought them, and with his young wife became a pioneer in American

"Having 'staked his claim,' and erected rude log cabin, his own right arm felled the trees that allowed the sunlight of heaven to fall upon the little clearing that surrounded his humble home. In this log cabin was the present James Buchanan born, and there he continued to reside until he was eight years of age. No one would have suspected, had they then seen the log cabin boy wandering through the primeval forests, awe struck at the strange, weird scenes which met his gaze, that he would one day hold listening Senates in attention, and stand among the leading statesmen of America. What a commentary do such facts present upon our free and glorious institutions!"

Mr. Buchanans father was respected and in fluential throughout the county where he resided. His mother was remarkable for the vigor of her intellect and the self taught treasures of her mind, and the whole family were noted Let us consider another act of his career, her mind, and the whole family were noted from their earliest years by a marked superiority even among the sturdy population of what was in those days esteemed the West. In 1798 the family removed to Mercersburg, where James received his first general and clasical most versatile mental capacity, and although qualities of his heart, and the free, manly graces

of a happy disposition. Entering Dickinson College, Carlisle Cumber land Co., Pa., at the age of fourteen, under the Presidency of Dr. Davidson herapidly signalized himself among his classmates, and as a member of the Union P. Society, won the affection of all around him, and captured its honors. Graduating when eighteeen years of age, in 1809 he presented, by a unanimous vote of the faculty, with the highest distinctions the institution had in its gift.

At that time, young Mr. Buchanan was model of manly accomplishment, as well as of scholarly success to his class-mates and the youth of the country. Untiringly industrious, while he was a splendid rifleman and sportmen, he could endure an astonishing amount of mental as well as physical fatigue. In Dewith James Hopkins, esq., an eminent advocate of Lancaster Cify, and admitted to the bar, in 1812, rapidly rose in that ardnous profession. Mr. Horton thus eloquently pictures his ad-

"He came to the bar of his native State when Pennsylvania was distinguished far and wide for the superior ability of her lawyers. She could then boast of her Baldwins, her Gibsons, her Rosses, her Duncans, her Breckin-ridges, her Dallasses, and her Semples, who shed not only honor upon their own State, but forever in his breast?

who added materially to the legal reputation of the whole country. With such men as these Mr. Buchanan was compelled to struggle for that eminence in his profession which he sub-

sequently attained, and so firmly kept.

"Perhaps we do not go too far in saying that there never has been in our country an instance of so rapid a rise in the legal profession as that afforded in his case. From the day he was admitted until he finally retired from the legal profession, his was a series of successive triumphs. He was poor, and necessity de-manded that exertion which soon made him the rival and equal of the best lawyers in the State. He was engaged in all important causes tried in Dauphin, York, and other neighboring

counties, and his name appears in the Penn sylvania Reports more frequently than of any other lawyer of his day.

In the famous session of 1816-17, Buchanan, then a member at the early age of 26, added fresh laurels to his brilliant store. At the age of exceeding the proudest array of all the past.

The civilized world still regards with admiration the character and achievements of the of his State. He was elected, about this time, to Congress, and after ably serving for ten years, declined a re-election. In 1831, he re-tired altogether from his profession having al-

ready accumulated a respectable competence. "'When he retired,' says his biographer, he left more business than any one man could attend to. Thus had the log cabin boy, born in a wild and rocky gorge of the Alleghany Mountains, at the early age of forty years, been the architect of his own fortune, and become the admiration and pride of his native State. Once only after he left his profession could he be prevailed upon to again appear at the bar. This was the cause of an aged widow, where he was appealed to by the most earnest solici-tations. It was an action of ejectment which involved all her little property. The case was a difficult one, and technically decided against the unfortunate woman. To the surprise and astonishment of every one, he succeeded in establishing her title to the property in question. The poor woman was intoxicated with joy, and overwhelmed her benefactor with expressions of gratefulness, and offers of remuneration. Buchanan, however, would accept nothing for his services."

It was during the war of 1812, when the atrocities of the British troops had alarmed and aroused the whole Union, that Mr. Buchanan signalized himself by volunteering as a private in the ranks against his country's oes. In regard to this whole matter, and the calumnies circulated to deface it, the following letter written in 1847, after Mr. Buchanan had taken his seat in Mr. Polk's Cabinet, speaks for itself:

"WASHINGTON, April 23, 1847. To the Hon. George M. Jones:

"Dear Sir: I have this moment received your letter of the --- instant, and hasten to return

"In one respect I have been fortunate as a public man. My old enemies are obliged to go back for more than thirty years to find plausi-

gia and Alabama, and runs generally in uniform ridges to the northeastern part of New York, is in Franklin county, divided into an irregular series of rocky, broken eminences. The South zens of Lancaster. The object of this speech was to urge upon them the duty of volunteering their services in defense of their invaded coun-Tuscarora, or Cove Mountain, on the north- try. A volunteer company was raised upon west. The highest points of the Cove Moun- the spot, in which I was the first, I believe, to enter my name as a private. We forthwith proceeded to Baltimore, and served until we were honorably discharged.

"In October, 1814, I was elected a member of the Pennsylvania Legislature, and in that of the eternal hills surround it, and slope down body gave my support to every measure calculike the sides of an amphitheater. A beautiful lated in my opinion to aid the country against the common enemy.

ble birthplace. The remains of the old Buch- and conduct of the war, which I very soon after regretted and recalled. Since that period is left but the chimney. They lie to the north of the Mercersburg and McConnellsburg turn- of Representatives, and an equal time of the pike, but within sight and about three miles | Senate, acting a part on every great question.

grandeur and sublimity which serve to inspire now resort back to my youthful years, for exin youthful minds noble aspirations and exalted pressions to injure my political character. pressions to injure my political character. The brave and generous citizens of Tennessee, a majority of our great men have been born to whatever political party they may belong, and reared. The early struggles necessary to will agree that this is a hard measure of jus contend with the rugged inequalities of nature, tice; and it is still harder that, for this reason

"I never deemed it proper, at any period which are the foundation of all true excellence my life, while the country was actually engaged in a war with a foreign enemy, to utter a sen "Mr. Buchanan's father was James Buchanan, timent which could interfere with its successful prosecution. While the war with Great he came to America, but with a vigorous arm, arm of the Government while dealing blows an industrious spirit and untiring perseverance, against the enemy. After peace had been concluded, the case was different. My enemies cannot point to an expression uttered by me, during the continuance of the war, which was

> "From your friend, very respectfully "JAMES BUCHANAN."

In testimony of this, witness the noble stand taken by that patriot, while a member of the Legislature in 1815, when the State of Pennsylvania, receiving no assistance from the ex hausted General Government, was proposing to defend herself, at her own expense, from the threatened attack of the foe upon Philadelphia. In the course of the debate, he said :

"Since, then, Congress has deserted us in our time of need, there is no alternative but either to protect ourselves by some efficient measures, or surrender up that independence which has been purchased by the blood of our forefathers. No American can hesitate which of these alternatives ought to be adopted. The invading enemy must be expelled from our shores; he must be taught to respect the rights of freemen."

But it is unnecessary to dwell longer upon facts too widely and honorably known through-

equally meritorious, as an evidence of the reatness of the man's true Democracy. While thus conspicuous as a lover of his own land, Mr. Buchanan assumed a position at this time upon the question of the proscription education. He there revealed the finest and of naturalized citizens, a position he has, most versatile mental capacity, and although through all the fluctuating changes of politics outstripping his companions in the race of for forty years since, consistently adhered to. learning, won their warm esteem by the noble The Governors of Massachusetts and Connecticut transmitted to the Governor of Pennsylvania, and by him sent to the Legislature of his own State, resolutions recommending certain amendments to the Constitution of the United States, among which was the following:

"That no person who shall be hereafter na turalized, shall be eligible as a member of the Senate or the House of Representatives of the United States, or capable of holding any civil office under the authority of the Unite States."

A committee was appointed to report on this among other resolutions. They disapproved of every resolution sent; but we give a part of their report, relating to the one we have quoted :

"It may be fairly questioned whether the total exclusion proposed is generous to others, or wise to ourselves. The revolutions of Europe may hereafter drive, as they have already driven, many an honorable and distinguished exile to the shelter of our hospitality. The distance which separates him from his native country is some guarantee that he has not hosen his new residence from any motive of levity, but from deliberate choice; and when he has abjured his allegiance to that country, when his fortunes and his family are fixed among us, when he has closed all the avenues return, when a long probation has evinced his attachment to our institutions, why should his mind continue still in exile, and why should the natural and honorable ambition for political distinction be extinguished

oice of such a man, whose European expence may be useful, if the deliberate voice of community is in his favor? Other nations do not indulge in so jealous an exclusion.
There is scarcely a nation in Europe which does not habitually employ the talents of strangers, wherever they can be most useful.

"The committee therefore recommend lissent from the proposed amendment." Mr. Buchanan concurred fully in this report and it was adopted unanimously by both

Houses. THE CHARGE OF FEDERALISM This miserable attempt to injure Mr. Buch-anan at the present day by lugging up issues long gone by, and with no bearing whatever upon the present contest, is thus summarily treated by Mr. Horton:

"Originally the name of Federal was as honorable a designation as any other. It took its rise from those who approved of our Fede ral Constitution, while those who felt that the Government was too consolidated, called themselves anti Federalists or Republicans; but after the Constitution was adopted, and it was accepted as the fundamental, organic law of the land, as Jefferson truly remarked, 'We are all Federalists, we are all Republicans.'
After the adoption of the Constitution, therefore, the term Federal, so far as its primary signification was concerned, had no meaning But in a few years it was soon discovered tha the very men who had approved most earnestly of the Constitution began to claim for it doubt ful powers, and to give it a liberal construc-

"Mr. John Adams, the second President was the first who boldly inaugurated this policy and by the passage of the alien and sedition laws, overwhelmed himself and his party in disgrace. This was the first stain on the other wise fair name of Federal. Then came the war of 1812, when they completed their ruin as a party, not by opposing the war in a reasonable manner, but by an odious and unconstitutional opposition, which finally terminated in a traitorous convention in New England, to make a separate peace with Great Britain. These two acts destroyed the Federal party, and brought upon the name an odious re

"It will not be pretended by any one that Mr. Buchanan approved either of the measures to which we have referred. The principles of the Federal party were, however, as we have before observed, in favor of claiming from Congress the exercise of doubtful powers, in opposition to the doctrine of State Rights as embraced in the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions of 1798. They also claimed the power in Congress to establish a United States Bank. Yet, upon Mr. Buchanan's first appearance in public life, we find him announcing himself as opposed to a bank of this kind, and denying the power of Congress to establish such an in stitution.

"Now, there is no sense or propriety in calling any man a Federalist, who has not advocated or supported Federal doctrines. Yet there is not an enemy of Mr. Buchanan who can point to a single act of his life which is contrary to the doctrine of State Rights, or to a strict construction of the Constitution. From first to last, from beginning to end, he has adhered steadily to this political faith. In the general disruption of parties after the war of 1812, he may have technically ranked with the Federal party, but he certainly never supported a single one of its measures, as the who peruses the remaining pages of this volume will be fully convinced."

In support of the above statement, the biographer proceeds with a detailed narrative of Mr. Buchanan's public career, interspersing them with his Congressional action and speeches on "Military Appropriations," the Bankrupt Bill, Internal Improvements, the Tariff Question, and a host of other great forensic contests, in which our nominee was ever found battling for the people and the best interests

of society.
On the tariff question it was, that in 1823, Mr. Buchanan " measured his powers with Mr. Webster in debate; and even the youthful giant of Massachusetts found his peer, at leas in the stately and careful logic of the son of Pennsylvania. There were giants, on all sides, on the floor of Congress in those days, and the Franklin county farmer-boy, stood

front to front among the proudest.

It is impossible, in the brief limits to which we are confined, to even give a sketch of so eventful and illustrious a life. pention Mr. Buchanan's long tried and steadfast friendship for Jackson; the impeachment of Judge Peck in 1829, and his celebrated speech thereon; his opposition to Sectionalism of all kinds; his defence of the freedom of the press; his almost prophetic mission to Paus ma; his splendid negotiations as a Minister to Russia, where he concluded, with Nesselrode. the first commercial treaty between the Czar and this Confederation, and obtained for us the advantage of Baltic commerce. On this score we have the eloquent testimony of the venerable William Wilkins of Pittsburg, Pa., who

succeeded him at St. Petersburg.

After his election to the United States Sen ate in 1833, Mr. Buchanan continued to defend the patriotic side of every question that came Witness his speech on the French Repriup. Witness his speech on the French Repri-sals, Executive Patronage—his gallant support of Texan Independence, and many others equally interesting and important. Can the merchants of New York ever forget his warm plea in their behalf when the Relief Bill was offered in the 24th Congress after the Great Fire of 1835? Let them read his words upon that occasion and ponder well.

THE LOW WAGES SLANDER.

Compelled to pass by many brilliant episodes of Mr. Buchanan's career, we come at once to the vile accusation that he favored reduced wages for the laboring man. We extract the lowing true statement of the case invented by John Davis, of Massachusetts, during the great debate on the Independent Treasury Bill;

"His triumphant reply to the special pleading and sophistry of Mr. Davis was not the last compliment Mr. Buchanan paid that individual for his attack upon him. The matter would not have been of so much consequence had it not been that it was just previous to a Presidential election, and the charge of the Administration being in favor of 'low wages,' was likely to be used with some advantage as an electioneering cry in the contest. Mr. Davis, in his reply to Mr. Buchanan, insisted upon the most unreasonable and outrageous interpretation to his remarks.

"The enemies of the Independent Treasury had used as their principal argument against it, 'that it would reduce the wages of labor.' The answer to this was, 'no, it will not have such an effect. It will give labor a much better reward than formerly, but should, perchance, the nominal standard of wages be reduced be low what it is when everything, as during a bank expansion, is at speculative prices, still the real reward of labor will not be reduced." This is the argument on both sides in a nut shell, and yet because the friends of the administration allowed that prices of all things would be less when there were no bank expan-

sions than when there were, they were charged with being in favor of 'low wages.' "Mr. Buchanan showed that the laboring man was never benefitted by extravagant speculation. Said Mr. B., 'It brings to him nothing but unmitigated evil, because the increased prices which he is compelled to pay for the nessaries and comforts of life, counterbalance and more than counterbalance this advantage. What he desires is regularity and stability in the business of the country. But what made the offence of Mr. Davis more palpable and condemnatory was the fact, that after Mr. Buchanan had replied and disavowed any such sentiments as had been attributed to him, he

"Why, too, should we deprive ourselves of the refused to make the amende honorable, and still continued his pettifogging play upon words."

Every successive scene of Senatorial labor was signalized by some new proof of Mr. Buch anan's legislative knowledge and statesman ship. His great arguments on the McLeod case, the Veto Power, and the Board of Exchequer, are monuments by themselves sufficient to perpetuate his fame. His exertions in the Twenty-eighth Congress, in behalf of a Territorial Government for Oregon and the Annexation of Texas deserve equal remem-

At length came the election of James K Polk as President of the American Republic. Mr. Buchanan was made Secretary of State and how glorious is the record of his services? The conduct of the War with Mexico, the Oregon Boundary Negotiation, the Treaty with Mexico, the Acquisition of California, all were the result of his splendid abilities.

THE IRISH MOVEMENT. We simply appropriate the subjoined re-

"Another important discussion which occur red during Mr. Buchanan's Secretaryship, was American citizens said to have been engaged in the Irish revolution of 1848. England claimed the right to try individuals for treason to her own Government who were duly natu ralized citizens of ours—in a word, it was her old impressment doctrine of once a British subject always a British subject."

The controversy arose in the following manner: Two gentlemen, Messrs. Bergen and Ryan, had expressed themselves in this country as warmly sympathizing with the cause of Ireland, and while on a visit to that country were arrested solely for the utterance of their opinions in this country. It is almost need ess to say that an act so high-handed and outrageous received from Mr. Buchanan the attention it deserved. In a letter of instruction to Mr. Bancroft then Minister to England he

Whenever the occasion may require it, you will resist the British doctrine of perpetual allegiance, and maintain the American principle that British native-born subjects, after they have been naturalized under our laws, are, to all intents and purposes, as much American citizens and entitled to the same degree of protection, as though they had been born in the

United States.

"Mr. Bancroft, in accordance with these instructions, addressed a letter to Lord Palmerston denying the right of the British Government, under the circumstances, to arrest Messrs. Bergen and Ryan, and the effect of this decided action on the part of our Govern-ment was the liberation of the two gentlemen rom custody.'

Distinguished above all its predecessors for the magnitude of its achievements, the appro-priateness and wisdom of its foreign appointnents, and the solid wisdom of its policy, the Secretaryship of the great Pennsylvanian

the following result:
"When Mr. Buchanan left the State Department, our country was at peace at home and abroad. Our territory had been enlarged, and our commerce extended. Not long after untold riches were flowing into the country; pros perity was everywhere visible; our cities were growing with unexampled rapidity; the fertile prairies of the West were being intersected with railroads, and dotted with villages, and an impulse had been universally given to business, which no one can deny was directly owing to the statesmanlike foresight that had opened California to the adventurous spirit of American genius and enterprise."

The later portions of these dazzling annals are familiar to the whole people. Mr. Buchavan's dignified and fruitful mission to England, and his nomination, on the 6th of June. 1856, to the Presidency of the United States, are benefitting corollaries to the demonstration of a life so eminently useful to our country, and in the grand principle it has illustrated

Entering his sixty sixth year, Mr. Buchanan retains all the fire and energy of youth. With an intellect undimmed, and a heart that yet beats high to the noble sentiments which in-spired his most brilliant efforts, he is ready to grapple with the enemies of the Republic, and to add a page to her history, which, in the providence of God, through the mighty events that already cast their fore-coming shadows over approaching years, may be as refulgent

as any in her history.

To use again the eloquent language of his biographer:

"This Union with its inestimable blessings, its patriotic associations, its trial of the capacity of men for self-government, is so invalu able to the cause of suffering humanity through-out the world, that should the American peo-ple, with sacrilegious hands, tear down this noble temple of liberty, they would deserve, as they would undoubtedly receive, the just contempt and execration of posterity.

"To restore peace to our already distracted country, to unite once more the bonds of fra ternal feeling between all sections, and in the language of the immortal Washington, 'to frown indignantly upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest," we cannot but believe that an overwhelming majority, North as well as South, will insist upon placing in the Presidential chair the consistent statesman, the pure patriot, and the honest man, James Buchanan.

Mr. Horton has accomplished his delicate and difficulty task with rare felicity, and has given us, with the full details of all the events and debates to which we have but passingly alluded, a manual which should be in the hands of every American citizen. How pale beside it will grow the factious and premature extol-ment of incipient scientific research and romantic mountain adventure! Here is the illus trious record of a long lifetime devoted to the service of the republic in the most arduous fields of intellectual endeavor—there a pleasing story of 'hair-breadth's scapes and ventures perilous.' Place the one name at the head of this na

tion, and it will be a diadem of honor for the world to reverence! Write the other there, and while the ene mies of liberty secretly exult, the people and

and the age will mourn!

Rights of Foot Passengers. The rights of foot passengers in our streets

was the subject of an important decision in the Municipal Court to-day. A hackman was con-demned to four months' imprisonment for trespassing upon these rights and running over a foot passenger. The Court stated the rule of law in such cases to be that carriages had no paramount rights of way in the streets, and that drivers were bound at all times to heed the rights of those on foot and to exercise due care for their safety. This is a timely decision, and will tend, it is to be hoped, to lessen a great and growing evil. All law, however, in this respect, is practically disregarded every day; and foot passengers are treated, not only as if they had no legal rights, but as if they had no claims to the courtesies and accommo dations of society. Long habit and impunity have emboldened drivers of carriages, and of wagons and other teams, especially to insist upon what they seem to imagine to be their priority of right, and to hinder and annoy, and even to endanger the safety of foot passengers, by always claiming the precedence in the privileges of the highway. An insulting admonition to "get out of the way" is a frequent mode of defining the rights and privileges of foot passengers. The present decision will matter home to the minds of those who seem to need information on the subject, and teach them at least that they are amena-ble to law for the manner in which they exercise their vocations in the crowded world. Boston Traveller, of Friday.

Address of Hon. J. C. Allen. To the People of the Seventh Congression District Illinois.

The contest so long pending between Col. Archer and myself for a seat as the representative from this District in the Congress of the United States is at length settled. The House on the 18th inst., by virtue of

that constitutional provision which devolves upon it the duty of determining the election of its own members, adjudged the seat vacant, and referred the matter back to the people of the district. I shall not at this time go into the history of

the causes that led to this result, or make any commentary upon the conclusions to which the majority arrived in their investigations of the law and the evidence.

The law of Congress prescribing the duty of contestants, and the course they shall pursue in giving notices and in taking testimony, is as plain and unmistakable as any law of our State. The provisions of this law were from the first wholly disregarded by Col. Archer, both in his notice of contest and in his subsequent proceed-ings; and it would have been folly upon my part to have taken testimony in support of my right to a seat with the hope that any evidence I might have taken would have received a moment's consideration by a House that would disregard the plain and unmistaka ble provisions of a law of Congress.

The election took place on the 7th of November, 1854. Col. Archer had from that time until the 22d of May, 1856, (nearly nineteen months,) to prepare his testimony. of the testimony submitted by him was taken without any notice whatever to me, and was therefore ex parte. A majority of the Committee of Elections were his political friends and advisers, and played throughout the whole investigation the part of partisans rather than judges. They decided to receive and consider his evidence, ex parte as much of it was. They kept the case open until he could return home and get additional evidence, in violation of all law and all precedent; and in the report which the majority finally made to the House, they distorted the testimony; they set at defiance the law and all parliamentary custom; they violated the well-settled law of evidence in their deductions from the facts proven; and yet, with this nineteen months' labor of Col. Archer, und six months' labor and delay of the committee, with all the appliances his party leaders, unscrupulous as they are known to be, could devise, and largely in the majority as they are, they have succeeded in depriving this district of a representative.

In the meantime, I have been "pursuing the even tenor of my way." I had been declared duly elected, and had received my commission under the seal of the State, and was endeavor ing to discharge my duty as your representative ing to discharge my duty as your representative under that authority. I took no testimony—I asked no delay—I threw no obstacles in the way of an early report upon the subject from the committee, other than to insist upon my rights under the law; and with a House two-thirds of which were opposed to me politically, Colonel Archer was unable to get up such a case as would instife them in giving this a case as would justify them in giving

It is proper that I should advert to the vote of the House on the resolutions reported by the majority of the Committee of Elections. The first was one declaring that I "was not entitled to a seat." On this resolution 94 members voted yea, and 90 voted nay. Of the 90 who voted against this resolution, believing that I was entitled to it, 24 were politically opposed

On the second, which declared Colonel Archer was entitled to the seat, there were yeas 89, nays 91—27 of the opposition voting with my friends against the right of Colonel Archer. my friends against the right of Colonel Archer. It was gratifying to me personally to be sustained by those who were politically opposed to me, and with whom Colonel Archer had been politically affiliated; and at the same time should afford conclusive proof to all an biased minds of the gross injustice perpetrated in depriving me of a seat to which I had been unpustionably adverd. But I had been unpustionably adverd. questionably elected. But I have no com plaints to make. I will let the people of the district redress their wrongs through the ballotbox, when I believe they will put their seal of condemnation ut have shown, in all their proceedings during the present Congress, where party ends were to be subserved, an atter disregard of the laws of the land, and of every principle of justice.

It will become your duty to select some one to fill this vacancy during the coming fall. Owing to the delay of the committee in calling up this case for a final hearing, it is not probable that an election could be ordered and a member returned before the adjournment of the present session. Although questions vitally affecting the welfare of our country will doubt less be before the House, that district can have no voice in their consideration and adjustment This is much to be regretted, for if ever there was a time when measures of a just and honorable domestic peace were demanded, that

time is now.

The wildest fanaticism, fed by a debauched press, and fanned by a horde of reckless and unprincipled adventurers, steeped in and reekraised the standard of revolt against the Constitution and the laws, and threatened the overthrow of our republican institutions and a dissolution of the bands of a common political brotherhood.

For the first time in the history of this Conederacy we have a large political party organized upon purely sectional grounds, whose "watchword" is war upon one half the States of this Union; over whose "club rooms," and in whose public processions, are to be seen banners with but sixteen stars. Such signs are portentous of evil, and we ought not to our eyes to the danger.

This sectional party have their candidates in the field for the Presidency and Vice Presidency: Colonel Fremont for President, whose entire experience in the national councils is covered by a service of thirty days in the Senate of the United States; the other, Dayton, of New Jersey, who has been longer in political ife, but who acquired his principal notoriety by abandoning Clay and Webster and allying himself with Seward and Giddings in the struggle over the Compromise of 1850. Who were the active friends of this sectional ticket in the convention that nominated it, and what fice. are their sentiments upon the subject of the Constitution and the Union? I take a few extracts from sentiments uttered by some of the most prominent of this party who labored most assiduously for these nominations:

"I look forward to the day when there shall be a servile insurrection in the South-when the black man, armed with British bayonets, and led on by British officers, shall assert his freedom, and wage a war of extermination against his master—when the torch of the in-cendiary shall light up the towns and cities of the South, and blot out the last vestige of slavery; and though I may not mock at their calamity, nor laugh when their fear cometh, yet I will hail it as the dawn of a political illennium."-Joshua R. Giddings.

"There is a higher law than the Constitution which regulates our authority over the domain.

* * R (slavery) can and must be abolished, and you and I must do it. * Correct your own error that slavery has any constitutional guarantees which may not be released, and ought not to be relinquished. * You will soon bring the parties of the country into an effective aggression upon slavery."- Wm. H. Seward.

"The Whig party is not only dead, but stinks."—Benjamin F. Wade. "I am willing, in a certain state of circumstances, TO LET THE UNION SLIDE."-Nat. P.

"In the case of the alternative being presented of the continuance of slavery or a dis-solution of the Union, 'I am for dissolution,

and I care not how quick it comes." -Rufus P. Spalding.

"On the action of this convention depends the fate of the country; if the republicans fall at the ballot-box, WE WILL BE PORCED TO DRIVE BACK THE SLAVEOCRACY WITH FIRE AND SWORD. [James Watson Webb.

"The times demand, and we must have, as ANTI-SLAVERY CONSTITUTION, AB ANTI-SLAVERY BIBLE, and an ANTI-SLAVERY GOD."-Anson Burlingame.

"I have no doubt that the free and slave States ought to separate."-J. S. P., of the New Vork Tribune.

"It is the duty of the North, in case they fail in electing a President and a Congress that will restore freedom to Kansas, to revolutionize the government."- Resolution of a black-republican meeting in Wisconsin.

"I pray daily that this accursed Union may be dissolved, even if blood have to be spilt."
[Black-republican clergyman at Poughkeepsie. "We earnestly request Congress, at its pre

sent session, to take such initiatory measures for the speedy, peaceful, and equitable dissolution of the existing Union, as the exigencies of the case may require."—[Black-repablican petition to Congress.

"The Union is not worth supporting in connexion with the South."-Horace Greeley.

Some of these sentiments were uttered in the very convention that nominated Fremont and Dayton, and were received with rapturous applause. Are you prepared to ally yourselves with, or place yourselves under the direction of, such men?

It behooves all who cherish the Union for what it has been to us in the past, and who would look to the Constitution as a light to guide us in the future, to heed well the steps hey take in the coming struggle; to weigh well the consequences that will inevitably fol-low the triumph of this sectional party, governed and controlled as it must be, by mer holding sentiments, a few specimens of which I have given above.

But the limits of this letter will not permi

me to pursue this subject further.

I hope shortly to have the privilege of dis-cussing these subjects at length before the

people of the district.

Grateful for the kindness you have shown me in the past, and with a sincere desire for your prosperity in the future, I remain, your bedient servant. J. C. ALLEN.

From the New York Sun

Freedom of the Pulpit.

A new phraze-" Freedom of the Pulpit"has got into the newspapers. It has originated in the controversy about the propriety of clergymen preaching on politics in the pulpit. It i a vague, ill-conceived, and mischievous phrase. Freedom of speech means freedom to contradict as well as freedom to assert. We all un derstand what free discussion means, but we all just as well know that pulpit preaching and pulpit teaching are dogmatic. for the preacher and the pews for his hearers He is the instructor and they are the learners We might as well talk about the freedom of the professor's rostrum or the schoolmaster's desl as about the freedom of the pulpit, unless we mean that the pulpit should be equally free t the congregation and the pastor to carry or discussions on the topics introduced in his dis courses.

But if by freedom of the pulpit is mean liberty for clergymen to talk as they like in the pulpit, then may not the hearers claim the liberty of judging of the propriety of their discourses, of being pleased or not, and of marking their pleasure or displeasure in any proper and becoming way? If this is not allowed—if it be held wrong in congregations to object to being treated to political lectures from the pulpit, from which they expect spiritual in-struction and admonitions, the freedom claimed for the pulpit is a one-sided thing-and is not

freedom but licentiousness.

The Sabbath, the Christian believes, was instituted as a day of rest from worldly avocations and cares—as a day of rest from the toils, contentions and irritating thoughts and anxieties of the other six days of the week-as a day typical of that future rest where the sanctified and exalted creature will enjoy perfect happiness in the praise and glorification of his Creator. To the Christian, then, who thus views the Sabbath, it can never be pleasing or profitable to have the solemn exercises of God's nouse disturbed by political discussions; and it will grieve him to see a zeal which should, in a worshipping assembly, be all directed to eading the thoughts and the hearts of the worshippers up to the great Object of their adorabestowed upon the contentions and strife of this world, and employed in implanting and deepening prejudices, passions and hatred which divide and vex society.

There is a time for everything, and the cler gymen may talk politics as freely as any other man at the proper times, but when he claims to mingle his politics with his ministrations at God's altar, on the Sabbath day, he risks the dignity of the sauctity of his office. We warn lergymen of the danger which it will work to the vital interests of religion, if they descend from their high position as ministers of Christ to be mere zealous partisans in the political agitations of the day. They will be serving their Master better if they can send their people from the house of prayer resolved hence-forth to be on God's side, than if they should send them away resolved to vote for a par-ticular party at the next election.

> From the Chester County Democrat. Anecdote of James Buchanau.

Aside from his superior statesmanship and his admitted competency for the Presidency, it is not exaggerated praise to affirm, that no public man in the United States enjoys a more unsullied personal reputation than James Bu chanan. When vipers assail him, they gnay a file. Before his unspotted personal excel lence, the grizzly form of calumny shrinks abashed into her gloomy caverns. In proof of the eminent personal uprightness of James Buchanan many interesting facts might be stated. For the present a single one will suf

When Mr. Buchanan first entered Congress it was the universal custom for Senators and Representatives, not only to frank their own correspondence, but to grant their frank freely to friends, whenever requested. The rates of postage then being much higher than at present, a large amount of revenue was thus kep out of the coffers of Uncle Sam. On certain occasions a leading friend of Mr. Buchanan approached him, handing him a large letter, or package, requesting his frank as a Representative in Congress.

"Is the letter on public business, asked Mr. Buchanan, turning it in his hand. "It is a letter on private business," said the other, "a letter containing an enclosure to my

dollar, I am anxious to save it." "Sir," said Mr. Buchanan, with marked emphasis, "If you are poor, I will give you a dol-ar—but, so long as I am connected with Gov-ernment, by no act of mine will I ever consent to defraud the National Treasury out of one

As the postage will amount to full one

cent of its honest revenue. Never, sir, never, never. And this was characteristic of the man. The same uprightness has he exhibited throughout his entire public career. So tenacious, we learn, was Mr. Buchanan over the just inter-

CONGRESS

THE SENATE, July 22, concurred in the action of the House in subssituting the 15th instead of the 11th of August proximo, at noon, as the time for the termination of the present session of Congress-by so amending their (the Senate's) joint resolution to that end, passed in the course of the

At the conclusion of the day's discussion on the bill to protect American discoverers of deposits of

Mr. Mason moved to take up the resolution declaring the notice for the termination of the Sound Dues treaty with Denmark, already given by the President, to be sufficient; not agreed toveas 16, nays 20.

The bill for the imprevement of the harbor of Racine. Wisconsin, was then taken up and passed -yeas 24, nays 12.

And next taking up the bill to continue the improvement of the harbor of Tenosha, Wisconsin, t was debated by Mesers. Hunter, Mason, Butler, Toombs, Adams, Clay, and others against it, and Messrs. Cass, Pugh, Durkee, Seward, and others for it, until 4 p. m.; when it was passed-yeas 20, nays 13-and they adjourned.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, resolutions from the Elections Committee declaring that Bird B. Chapman is not and that Hiram P. Bennett is entitled to the delegate's seat in the hall, from Nebraska, was debated by Messrs Jewett, Foster, and Stephens, of Georgia, against them, and Mr. Washburn, of Maine, for them. Mr. CHAPMAN then defended his right to the

seat in an hour's speech, and was replied to by The question being put on the first resolutionhat ousting Mr. Chapman, it was not agreed to-

reas 63, nays 69. Pending Mr. Cadwallader's motion to lay or he table a motion made by him to reconsider

hat vote, they adjourned. IN THE SENATE, July 23, after much morning ousiness had been transacted, an invitation was received from C. Vanderbilt to the Senate inviting hem to visit his steamship, now lying off the navy yard; laid on the table and ordered to be

The bill for the rehef of Donn Piatt, lave United States Secretary of Legation at Paris. was discussed by many Senators.

IN THE HOUSE On motion of Mr. BARREDALE, it was voted to hold night sessions during the balance of the current week for general debate only. The Speaker laid before the House an invitaion from C Vanderbilt, of New York city, to risit his steamship, the Vanderbilt. (now anchored off the Washington Navy Yard.) on Saturday morning next; laid on the table and ordered to be printed.

The question then arose on the pending motion o lay on the table the pending motion to recon sider the vote by which the House yesterday refused to agree to the resolution from the Elec ion Committee; and it was laid on the table.

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ma lee, \$20.

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